1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy.

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor.

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives.

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none.

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work,

tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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dominant. By this time the other adult women of the hamlet also belong to it by marriage, and her status is thus at least as high as theirs. There is considerable rivalry and dissension between the wives of *brothers*, arising both from sexual jealousy and from economic disputes. Aggression between a woman and her husband's *brother's* wife is usually on the verbal level, but in this sphere she is considerably more expressive than her husband. In any dispute between two households, the voices of the women usually rise above those of the men. On the other hand, a woman depends on the wives of her husband's *brothers* for much of her intimate social participation. In the afternoons and particularly in the evenings, these women visit one another and gossip of the day's events.

An important social relationship which a woman experiences but a man does not is that between a woman and her co-wife. Although the culture rules that they should not fight one another, but live together amicably and cooperate in the household duties, there is considerable antagonism between them. A woman seldom expresses her anger directly toward her co-wife, for to do so would bring punishment from her husband. If his wives fight he stands ready to beat the one who was responsible or both of them if he cannot decide who is to blame. Sexual jealousy and the difficulty of fairly allocating the economic tasks of the household create a strong pressure in opposition to this sanction. The following case demonstrates one of the techniques which a Kwoma woman uses to express her aggression toward a co-wife. Wof, a middle-aged man, had one wife, Kaya. Shortly after I arrived he inherited his deceased brother's wife, Chinuwa, by the rules of levirate marriage. Kaya was not pleased with the prospect of having another woman share her husband and protested vigorously to Wof. On the eve of the wedding she argued vociferously with her husband and, when she could not dissuade him, wailed bitterly. After Chinuwa came to live in the household, the two wives seldom spoke to one another, and when they did, they were coldly polite. Instead of being openly aggressive toward Chinuwa, Kaya disparaged

223 531 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this afternoon and did card tricks for Eriya and Awa. Their reaction was to 123 201 close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and forefinger and bite the lower lip. Chimawa came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Eriyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and War came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and War must have disturbed the marsalai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 578 February 38, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to Wonuma, War's younger brother. Wonuma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill 578 the levirate with War. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. War had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this War beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerize him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

000 May 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mas is the same age as Mar.

Afok came up, said that the talk has died over Sof and the cook, and that the story was not true. He had not hit her with an axe but with a kunde (Wanka kumba) and had bruised her mouth and eyebrow.

April 21, 1937. Kar and Kis came early this morning. Pwisambi went by before dawn to work taking out the yams of her mother's brother. Kar was
685 decorating a new wafa agusa. Kar said he had gone to court about Wof's
587 house burning. The situation is this: Ngasawar went away to work for the
684 white men and died there --Awa, also of Sumwa Sumwa married his widow through
578 the operation of the levirate. The other day he had intercourse with the wife
582 of Hayamatanp, Wajumbei, who is now working at Bulolo. This is a double breach of the mores -- first marrying brother's wife and second, being married to 2 women who call each other laka kumwa (older sister>younger sister). Woyafoka was justly angry about this and made a big fuss. He called Awa some names he didn't like and challenged him to fight, etc.

Awa was incensed at this and came to Wof's house late at night and set fire to it. Wof did not wake up until the fire was well under way, so he had no time to save any of his property. The next day Awa fled to Tangwishamp with his two wives.

582 Kar said that the reason War gave for not wanting to let Aya marry Mar was because he had already married one girl from Woyanoka and it is against the mores to marry two women from the same sib unless the first wife has died.

578 Gwiyap said that if Awa had stayed he would have been speared by Way. The others would have assisted by holding Awa.

123 I worked with War most all day and washed photographs in the afternoon.
126 Marok and Kaopyap came asking for theirs.

*115 unsuccessfully to get from me.

[128]
*115 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tengwishamp to get
583 some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's elder brother died and a Tengwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a
* [587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Mar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to
[464] earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his elder brothers
[583] spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the
[476] communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.
[614] January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tengwishamp accompanied by Mar, Ear, Oviyap, Namb, Hay and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tengwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an
[154] aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerizes people. Later
[241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Hee who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

*115 about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having
[823] intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No, I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went. February 6, 1937.

*115 Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of War and
584 stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with
[593] him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked
[754] him what was the matter with Waya, his fiancee. He replied that she was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either. March 3, 1937.

I went to War's house with Gwiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion. As we approached the house Mar called out for Mas who was not there. Gwiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Mar was not there. He was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not go in the porch but stood up outside. Gwiyap paused before going in but finally went in and sat down.

• 587 Later that day Mar told me that Wanyakous was first married to Wonuma
837 and by him had Dogaremanu. When her husband died she went to live with Yat. He went to work for the whites and Daguwur took care of her. One day she went to get firewood and Daguwur followed her. When she was leaving

[i.e., probably Mas.—analyst]

587 837 over he came on her from behind and had intercourse with her. She ran away and was very indignant. She said Dagwur was just like a ghost and went to live with War. Yat came back from his job and was angry with War and a big argument followed which was settled by War's buying Yat a new wife. This he did -- Gawas' child, Kafa. He paid two axes, two large knives,,a lary shell necklace and twenty strings of shells.

837 786 During the Yenama ceremony a Yenama wife will make an appointment with a Minjama man. He will come around in the evening after she has put her children to bed and said that she is going out. Then she will meet the man in the bush close to the house and have intercourse with him there.

#115 836 Before I came Mar had once decorated himself grandly and gone to the marketplace. He met Kis' present wife (though she was not married at the time), who asked him to go into the bush with her. He agreed but before they did they met a group of men smoking in the road. Kis joined them, and they returned to the market. Later Kis' wife spoke to Mar about what had happened, but she never came up to him again and now she is married to Kis.

March 7, 1937.

#115 583 Mas is married to Mar's sister and has not paid for her yet. Mar wants to marry Mas' sister Aya, but War will not allow it unless he pays immediately. Mar can ask payment to be completed on his own sister and then return it to War but he is afraid to force War, not because he is afraid to fight him but because he is afraid of sorcery.

*115 very steeply-- about the angle of an ordinary staircase, with holes cut in
123 the mud for footing. Owiyap hit this path going full tilt and had not gone far before he slipped and took quite a nasty spill. I was not so sure footed and had slowed down to a walk. When I saw him lying down, I asked if he were all right, and started down to pick him up. When he saw me coming, he got up with a look of terror on his face, and sobbing, limped down the path. I stopped and told him that it was all right, that I was only playing and then he stopped and sat down. When I started back up the hill he went into the bushes to hide. Mar came at this point and we both went to look for him, but could not find him. When we got to the top of the hill, we waited, and yelled and about five minutes later Owiyap appeared. He said he was fooling us when he hid in the bush and that he was all right. He showed no fear of me and laughed about the incident. He said that he knew I was fooling, but I could feel a slight undercurrent of resentment about the affair.

• 587 This morning Wof married Owiyap's foster mother. He was talking about
*115 it the night before, and Owiyap must have know his intentions. When Owiyap
787 came with my tea, almost the first thing he said was that he had a dream
123 to report. Usually I have to ask him first. The dream was this. "Last
[757] night a big tall man came after me with a spiky leaf (used by the
[304] natives as a counterirritant, particularly after they are cicatrized at initiation). I ran down the hill and he chased me. Finally I got to the water and jumped in and died. Then a man like Mar came and took me out and carried me to the funeral platform and laid me out on it. Then I got up and came down from the platform. I was not dead." I asked him who the man who had chased him was, and he said he did not know, but that he was very big and tall and that he was a "man belong tamberanka" (one of the ghosts of dead Mongwem).